

We need nothing short of a full and clear ban on human cloning; otherwise, we are not promoting responsible scientific inquiry, we are promoting bad science fiction and making it a reality.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. DELAHUNT), a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time.

Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote against the underlying bill and against the alternative as well, because I do not believe that I know what I need to know before casting a vote of such profound consequence. I am not ready to decide the intricate and fundamental questions raised by this legislation on the basis of a single hearing held on a single afternoon at which the subcommittee heard only 5 minutes of testimony from only four witnesses, a hearing which many Members, myself included, were not even able to attend.

Proponents of the bill have warned, and I speak to the underlying bill, that this is but the "opening skirmish of a long battle against eugenics and the post-human future." They say that without this sweeping legislation, we will make inevitable the cloning of human beings, which I believe everyone in this Chamber deplores.

Supporters of the substitute respond that the bill is far broader than it needs to be to achieve its objective, and that a total ban on human somatic cell nuclear transfer could close off avenues of inquiry that offer benign and potentially lifesaving benefits for humanity.

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They may both be right, but both bills have significant deficiencies.

The underlying bill raises the specter of subjecting researchers to substantial criminal penalties. It even goes so far as to create a kind of scientific exclusionary rule that would deny patients access to any lifesaving breakthroughs that may result from cloning research conducted outside of the United States. To continue the legal metaphor, it bars not only the tree but the fruit, as well. This seems to me to be of dubious morality.

The substitute would establish an elaborate registration and licensing regime to be sure experimenters do not cross the line from embryonic research to the cloning of a human being. Not only would that system be impossible to police, but it fails to address the question of whether we should be producing cloned human embryos for purposes of research at all.

I find this issue profoundly disturbing. I believe the issue deserves more than a cursory hearing and a 2-hour debate. It merits our sustained attention, and it requires a characteristic which does not come easily to people in our profession: humility and patience.

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman

from Ohio (Mr. KUCINICH), who will show how bipartisan support is for this bill.

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Wisconsin for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, the pro-life pro-choice debate has centered on a disagreement about the rights of the mother and whether her fetus has legally recognized rights. But in this debate on human cloning, there is no woman. The reproduction and gestation of the human embryo takes place in the factory or laboratory; it does not take place in a woman's uterus.

Therefore, the concern for the protection of a woman's right does not arise in this debate on human cloning. There is no woman in this debate. There is no mother. There is no father. But there is a corporation functioning as creator, investor, manufacturer, and marketer of cloned human embryos. To the corporation, it is just another product with commercial value. This reduces the embryo to just another input.

What we are discussing today in the Greenwood bill is the right of a corporation to create human embryos for the marketplace, and perhaps they will be used for research, perhaps they will be just for profit, all taking place in a private lab.

But is this purely a private matter, this business of enucleating an egg and inserting DNA material from a donor cell, creating human embryos for research, for experimentation, for destruction, or perhaps, though not intended, for implantation? Is this just a matter between the clone and the corporation, or does society have a stake in this debate?

We are not talking about replicating skin cells for grafting purposes. We are not talking about replicating liver cells for transplants. We are talking about cloning whole embryos. The industry recognizes there is commercial value to the human life potential of an embryo, but does a human embryo have only commercial value? That is the philosophical and legal question we are deciding here today.

The Greenwood bill, which grants a superior cloning status to corporations, would have us believe that human embryos are products, the inputs of mechanization, like milling timber to create paper, or melting iron to create steel, or drilling oil to create gasoline. Are we ready to concede that human embryos are commercial products? Are we ready to license industry so it can proceed with the manufacturer of human embryos?

If this debate is about banning human cloning, we should not consider bills which do the opposite. The Greenwood substitute to ban cloning is really a bill to begin to license corporations to begin cloning. Though the substitute claims to be a ban on reproductive cloning, it makes this nearly possible by creating a system for the manufacturer of cloned embryos. It does not have a system for Federal over-

sight of what is produced and does not allow for public oversight. The substitute allows companies to proceed with controversial cloning with nearly complete confidentiality.

Cloning is not an issue for the profit-motivated biotech industry to charge ahead with; cloning is an issue for Congress to consider carefully, openly, and thoughtfully. That is why I support the Weldon bill. I urge that all others support it as well.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York (Mr. NADLER), a senior member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

We all agree that the cloning of human beings should be banned. The cloning of individual cells is a different matter. We know that stem cells have the potential to cure many diseases, to save millions of lives, to enable the paralyzed to walk and feel again, potentially even to enable the maimed to grow new arms and legs.

We also know that nuclear cell transfer, cloning of individual cells, may be the best or only way to allow stem cell therapy to work to cure diseases, because by using stem cells produced by cloning one of the patient's own cells, we can avoid the immunological rejection of the stem cells used to treat the disease.

Why should we prohibit, as this bill does, the cloning of cells? Why should we prohibit the research to lead to these kinds of cures? Only because of the belief that a blastocyst, a clump of cells not yet even an embryo, with no nerves, no feelings, no brain, no heart, is entitled to the same rights and protections as a human being; that a blastocyst is a human being and cannot be destroyed, even if doing so would save the life of a 40-year-old woman with Alzheimer's disease.

I respect that point of view, but I do not share it. A clump of cells is not yet a person. It does not have feelings or sensations. If it is not implanted, if it is not implanted in a woman's uterus, it will never become a person. Yes, this clump of cells, like the sperm and the egg, contains a seed of life; but it is not yet a person.

To anyone wrestling with this issue, I would point them to the comments of the distinguished senior Senator from Utah who is very much against choice and abortion, who has come out in strong support of stem cell research because he recognizes that a blastocyst not implanted in a woman's uterus is very different than an embryo that will develop into a person.

If one is pro-choice, one cannot believe a blastocyst is a human being. If they did, they would not be for choice. If one is anti-choice, one may believe, with Senators HATCH and STROM THURMOND, what I said a moment ago, that a clump of cells in a petri dish is not the same as an embryo in a woman.